

Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

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AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L CAPE TOWN 732

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MNUC, PARM, PORG, UNSC, SF
SUBJECT: NUCLEAR MATTERS: A) SAG RESPONSE ON TECHNICAL TALKS;
B) UNSC CONSIDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN STANCE

REF: (A) CAPE TOWN 698, (B) STATE 92273,

1. IN REFTTEL A I REPORTED ON THE SAG UNSATISFACTORY RESPONSE TO THE TECHNICAL TALKS AND INDICATED I WOULD SUBMIT MY IDEAS ON NEXT STEPS. IN THE INTERIM I HAVE CONSULTED WITH MY FRENCH COLLEAGUE TO SEE HOW BRAND FOURIE REACTED TO THE FRENCH DEMARCHE MADE LAST WEEK AND TO GET HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE PROSPECTS FOR FAVORABLE SAG ACTION. AMBASSADOR SHRICKE TELLS ME THAT HIS CONVERSATION WITH FOURIE WAS QUITE UNSATISFACTORY AND LEFT HIM PESSIMISTIC THAT WE COULD EXPECT A FAVORABLE RESPONSE ON SAFE-GUARDS. (HE DID NOT RAISE NPT.) FOURIE ALSO SAID TO HIM THAT SAG WAS CONCERNED THAT WHATEVER MIGHT BE AGREED TO ON FUEL
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SUPPLY AND SAFEGUARDS WOULD EASILY BE VOIDED BY SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION WHICH WESTERN POWERS MIGHT BE UNABLE TO OPPOSE. WE HAVE BOTH COME TO CONCLUSION THAT THE PROSPECTS FOR FAVORABLE SAG ACTION ON THE STEPS WE WANT ARE NOT GOOD.

2. THIS LEAVES THE QUESTION OF WHAT TO DO NEXT, MADE MORE URGENT BY THE PROSPECTIVE UNSC ACTION. ONE APPROACH--THE ONE

DESIRED BY THE SAG--IS TO ENTER INTO BROAD POLITICAL TALKS ON RELATIONS IN WHICH THE SAG CAN BE EXPECTED TO HORSETRADE WHAT CHIPS IT HOLDS (RHODESIA, NAMIBIA, NUCLEAR MATTERS) OF INTEREST TO THE WEST FOR AN UNDERSTANDING ON RELAXATION OF PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA. ANOTHER APPROACH IS TO TRY TO USE WHAT LEVERAGE WE HAVE LEFT TO PERSUADE THE SAG TO ACCEPT NPT AND SAFEGUARDS. THIS LEVERAGE CONSISTS OF: (1) THE FRENCH BEING WILLING TO SAY THAT FUTURE COOPERATION ON KOEBERG HANGS IN THE BALANCE, AND (2) THE WEST INDICATING THAT UNLESS THE SAG MOVES ON NPT AND SAFEGUARDS, ITS ABILITY TO HOLD THE LINE AT THE UN ON SANCTIONS BECOMES PROBLEMATIC. I WOULD NOT ADVOCATE AT THIS STAGE ENTERING INTO THE HORSETRADING THAT THE SAG SEEKS. I AM NOT SURE THAT USING THE LEVERAGE WE HAVE TO TRY TO EXTRACT ACCEPTANCE OF NPT AND SAFEGUARDS WILL WORK. ASSUMING WE COULD GET THE FRENCH AND OTHER WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE UNSC TO JOIN US, IT WOULD BE WORTH MAKING A FIVE-POWER DEMARCHE TO THE SAG TO EXPLAIN THAT WHILE WE WOULD LIKE TO MAINTAIN COOPERATION IN PEACEFUL USES (INCLUDING KOEBERG) AND RESIST FAR-REACHING SANCTIONS, WE CANNOT CONTINUE TO DO SO UNLESS THE SAG TAKES THE TWO ESSENTIAL STEPS.

3. THE RESOLUTION PROPOSED IN PARA 3 OF REFTL "B" IS A STEP IN THE DIRECTION OF USING THE REMAINING WESTERN LEVERAGE WITH THE SAG. I WOULD FAVOR MAKING THE FIVE-POWER DEMARCHE SUGGESTED IN PARA 2 ABOVE BEFORE WE GET INTO A SITUATION WHERE WE HAVE TO VOTE ON A RESOLUTION CONTAINING POINTS D AND E. WE PLACE OUR-
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SELVES IN A BETTER POSITION TO PERSUADE THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO BE RESPONSIVE IF WE EXPLAIN THE FACTS OF LIFE PRIVATELY BEFORE WE JOIN WITH OTHERS IN THREATENING THEM PUBLICLY. IN THE END THE PRIVATE APPROACH MAY NOT WORK. IF IT DOES NOT, A UNSC RESOLUTION ALONG THE LINES PROPOSED IS NO MORE, AND PROBABLY LESS, LIKELY TO ELICIT THE DESIRED RESULTS.
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